

Message Text

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ACTION EUR-12

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INFO USMISSION NATO BRUSSELS

USMISSION USBERLIN

AMEMBASSY BERLIN

AMEMBASSY LONDON

AMEMBASSY MOSCOW

AMEMBASSY PARIS

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 01 OF 03 BONN 14898

FOR EUR/CE

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PFOR, PGOV, WB, GW, US, UK, FR, UR NATO

SUBJECT: NATO BRIEFING ON BERLIN

REF: (A) BONN 14883; (B) STATE 219659; (C) BONN 14879

1. BEGIN SUMMARY. TO EXPEDITE BONN GROUP AGREEMENT ON A BRIEFING FOR NATO ON BERLIN EVENTS, US REP IS CIRCULATING ADDENDA TO EXISTING DRAFT WHICH WOULD INCORPORATE ADDITIONAL SUBJECT MATTER DESIRED BY DEPARTMENT. THESE ADDENDA ARE REPORTED BELOW FOR ADVANCE INFORMATION. IF DEPARTMENT'S GENERAL REACTION TO THIS APPROACH COULD BE RECEIVED BEFORE SEPTEMBER 7 BONN GROUP MEETING, WE WOULD PUSH FOR FULL AGREEMENT TO TEXT WHICH HOPEFULLY COULD BE GIVEN TO SEPTEMBER 8 NAC. END SUMMARY.

2. TO EXPAND DRAFT BRIEFING TEXT TO INCLUDE REFERENCE
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TO OTHER RECENT BERLIN EVENTS, INCLUDING THE SOVIET

PROPOSAL FOR AN EXCHANGE OF ANNIVERSARY MESSAGES, US REP HAS CIRCULATED A NEW SECTION FOR CONSIDERATION BY OTHER BONN GROUP REPS IN ADVANCE OF SEPTEMBER 6 TRIPARTITE AND SEPTEMBER 7 BONN GROUP MEETINGS. THIS NEW SECTION MIGHT SERVE AS AN INTRODUCTORY PASSAGE TO THE EXISTING TEXT (REPORTED REF C), THUS AVOIDING MAJOR RESTRUCTURING.

3. WHILE PROPOSED APPROACH WOULD HOPEFULLY MEET DEPARTMENT'S WISHES ON SCOPE OF SUBJECT MATTER, IT WOULD ADMITTEDLY STILL BE SOMEWHAT DEFICIENT, IN THAT IT WOULD NOT CONTAIN FULL ANALYTICAL TREATMENT EITHER OF FRG-GDR RELATIONS AS REFLECTED IN THE BORDER INCIDENTS AND THEIR AFTERMATH OR OF THE MOTIVES BEHIND THE SOVIET ANNIVERSARY PROPOSAL. IT MIGHT BE PREFERABLE, HOWEVER, TO MOVE AHEAD WITH THE NATO BRIEFING WITHOUT THESE ELEMENTS. HOW THE SOVIETS VIEW THE QA AFTER FIVE YEARS, IN PARTICULAR, IS A SUBJECT WHICH WILL DESERVE FULLER TREATMENT AFTER WE HAVE DIGESTED THE VOLUMINOUS UNILATERAL SOVIET OUTPOURINGS ON THE OCCASION OF THE ANNIVERSARY.

4. THERE FOLLOWS THE TEXT OF THE U.S. DRAFT FOR A PROPOSED INTRODUCTORY SECTION:

BEGIN TEXT:

I. BERLIN AND THE FIFTH ANNIVERSARY OF THE QA

SOME MONTHS AGO SOVIET OFFICIALS INFORMALLY PROPOSED THAT A CEREMONIAL MEETING OF THE AMBASSADORS OF THE FOUR SIGNATORY POWERS OF THE QUADRIPARTITE AGREEMENT BE HELD TO COMMEMORATE THE FIFTH ANNIVERSARY OF ITS SIGNING, ON SEPTEMBER 3. IN ONE SUCH APPROACH, SOVIET AMBASSADOR ABRASIMOV SUGGESTED, ON A "PURELY PERSONAL

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BASIS," THAT IT MIGHT BE USEFUL TO DRAW UP A "BALANCE SHEET" ON IMPLEMENTATION OF THE QA AT A MEETING OF THE FOUR AMBASSADORS. ALLIED OFFICIALS EXPRESSED DIS-INTEREST, HOWEVER, ON GROUNDS THAT A QUADRIPARTITE MEETING MIGHT FALSELY LEAD THE PUBLIC TO BELIEVE THAT CONSULTATIONS OR NEGOTIATIONS ON BERLIN WERE UNDER WAY.

IN THE LATTER PART OF JULY, SOVIET AMBASSADORS IN THE THREE CAPITALS FORMALLY PROPOSED A VARIANT OF THE EARLIER IDEA BY SUGGESTING THAT THE FOUR SIGNATORY POWERS EXCHANGE MESSAGES ON THE SEPTEMBER 3 ANNIVERSARY. WHILE SEEING NO GREAT UTILITY IN SUCH AN EXCHANGE, ALLIED OFFICIALS DID NOT INITIALLY REACT NEGATIVELY TO THE PROPOSAL. SUBSEQUENT EVENTS, HOWEVER, LED THE THREE AND THE FRG TO CONCLUDE THAT SUCH AN EXCHANGE OF MESSAGES WOULD BE INAPPROPRIATE:

--SEVERAL SERIOUS INCIDENTS ALONG THE
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FRG-GDR BORDER LATE IN JULY AROUSED CONSIDERABLE PUBLIC SENTIMENT IN THE FEDERAL REPUBLIC. THE SERIOUS WOUNDING OF A WEST GERMAN CITIZEN WHO APPROACHED THE BORDER FENCE, THE KIDNAPPING AND QUESTIONING OF THREE TOURISTS WHO HAD STRAYED INTO THE BORDER ZONE, AND THE SHOOTING DEATH OF AN ITALIAN TRUCK DRIVER BY EAST GERMAN BORDER POLICE SERVED TO REMIND THE WORLD OF THE MOST REPREHENSIBLE FEATURES OF THE GDR REGIME, INCLUDING THE STRICT CONTROLS NOT ONLY ON THE BORDER BUT ALSO SURROUNDING THE WESTERN SECTORS OF BERLIN.

--ON AUGUST 3, THE SOVIET FOREIGN MINISTRY DELIVERED A STRONG DEMARCHE TO THE THREE ALLIED AMBASSADORS IN MOSCOW, STATING THAT THEIR INTERPRETATION OF THE QUADRIpartite AGREEMENT WOULD NOT PERMIT THE CONTINUED REPRESENTATION OF THE WSB IN THE EUROPEAN PARLIAMENT ONCE THE PROPOSALS FOR DIRECT ELECTIONS WERE IMPLEMENTED. SIMULTANEOUS PUBLICATION OF THE AUGUST 3 DEMARCHE IN THE FORM OF A TASS STATEMENT INDICATED THAT THE SOVIETS INTENDED TO MAKE A MAJOR ISSUE OF THE BERLIN-EC RELATIONSHIP AND OF THE ALLIED VIEW THAT THE QUADRIpartite AGREEMENT DID NOT REQUIRE ANY CHANGES IN THE SITUATION WHICH HAS EXISTED SINCE 1957, WHEN THE TREATY OF ROME WAS EXTENDED TO BERLIN.

--FINALLY, THE MAJOR VIOLATION OF THE QA WHICH OCCURRED ON AUGUST 13, WHEN GDR OFFICIALS DENIED ACCESS TO BERLIN TO SEVERAL BUSLOADS OF TRAVELERS, CONVINCED ALLIED AND FRG AUTHORITIES THAT AN EXCHANGE OF ANNIVERSARY MESSAGES WOULD NOT ONLY SEEM INCONGRUOUS BUT WOULD ALSO TEND TO LESSEN THE IMPACT OF THE ALLIED PROTEST OF THAT VIOLATION.

ACCORDINGLY, ALLIED OFFICIALS INFORMED THE SOVIETS AT THE END OF AUGUST THAT, WITHOUT WISHING TO DENY THE SIGNIFICANCE OF THE QA OR TO DOWNPLAY ITS POSITIVE FEATURES, THEY CONSIDERED A PUBLIC EXCHANGE OF ANNIVERSARY MESSAGES INAPPROPRIATE IN THE LIGHT OF RECENT EVENTS. THE POSSIBILITY OF REEXAMINING THE CONFIDENTIAL

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IDEA NEXT YEAR, AS THE FIFTH ANNIVERSARY OF THE DATE ON WHICH THE QA WAS BROUGHT INTO EFFECT APPROACHED, WAS LEFT OPEN.

BECAUSE OF THE POTENTIAL SIGNIFICANCE OF THE AUGUST 13 INCIDENT, IT IS DESCRIBED IN MORE DETAIL BELOW.

END TEXT

5. FOLLOWING ABOVE SECTION, WHAT WAS SHOWN IN REF C AS ROMAN SECTIONS I, II, AND III WOULD BECOME SECTIONS II, III, AND IV, RESPECTIVELY.

6. AS NOTED IN PARA 10, REF C, THE CONCLUSION OF THE ANALYTICAL PORTION OF THE DRAFT IS STILL UNDER DISCUSSION. U.S. REP HAS ALSO CIRCULATED FOR DISCUSSION AT SEPTEMBER 6 AND 7 MEETINGS A REVISED DRAFT FOR THE

CONCLUDING PARAGRAPHS, WHICH WOULD READ AS FOLLOWS
(PICKING UP WITH WHAT IS SHOWN IN REF C AS THE FINAL
SENTENCE OF PARA 9):

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C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 03 OF 03 BONN 14898

THE WISDOM OF AN EARLY VIGOROUS PROTEST WAS IN
THE SECOND PLACE JUSTIFIED BY LEGITIMATE ANXIETY ABOUT
WHAT THE SOVIET UNION MIGHT HAVE IN MIND FOR THE FUTURE.
A PRESS STATEMENT ISSUED BY THE SOVIET EMBASSY IN EAST
BERLIN ON AUGUST 28, AFTER RECALLING THAT THE
SOVIETS HAD COMPLAINED ON AUGUST 12 ABOUT THE ACTIVITIES
SCHEDULED TO TAKE PLACE IN WEST BERLIN THE FOLLOWING
DAY, SOUGHT TO JUSTIFY THE ACTIONS TAKEN BY THE GDR
AS PROPER FOR THE PREVENTION OF "PROVOCATIONS." IN
OTHER PUBLIC REMARKS THE SOVIET UNION HAS CLAIMED THAT

"BONN CONTINUALLY FORGOT THAT THE QA WAS IN ITS ESSENCE DIRECTED TOWARDS GOOD RELATIONS BETWEEN THE FRG AND THE USSR AND THE GDR." THIS LATTER STATEMENT (IN A COMMENTARY FROM RADIO MOSCOW CARRIED IN NEUES DEUTSCHLAND) IS REMINISCENT OF THE PASSAGE ON BERLIN IN THE SOVIET GOVERNMENT DECLARATION OF MAY 22, 1976, CONCERNING RELATIONS WITH THE FRG.

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SUCH STATEMENTS SUGGEST THAT THE SOVIETS ARE ATTEMPTING TO LINK THE SMOOTH IMPLEMENTATION OF THE ACCESS GUARANTEES OF THE QA WITH PEACE AND QUIET IN BERLIN, WHICH THEY PROFESS TO SEEK, AND ALSO WITH THE GENERAL STATE OF EAST-WEST RELATIONS. THE ALLIES HAVE NOW PUT THE SOVIET UNION ON NOTICE THAT THIS IS A LINE WHICH THEY REJECT.

END TEXT

7. COMMENT. WE UNDERSTAND FROM USNATO THAT THE DESIRABILITY OF PRESENTING THE BERLIN BRIEFING THIS WEEK IS HEIGHTENED BY FACT THAT PERMREPS WILL BE IN U.S. NEXT WEEK. IF WE ARE TO PRESS FOR BONN GROUP AGREEMENT ON A TEXT ON SEPTEMBER 7, IT WOULD BE HELPFUL TO HAVE BEFORE THEN AN INDICATION OF DEPARTMENT'S GENERAL REACTION TO THE DRAFTS NOW ON THE TABLE, I.E., THE DRAFT REPORTED IN REF C AS AMENDED BY THE TWO PASSAGES REPORTED IN PARAS 4 AND 6 ABOVE. UK AND FRENCH REPS ARE SEEKING DISCRETIONARY INSTRUCTIONS WHICH WOULD PERMIT THEM TO GIVE AGREEMENT TO FINAL TEXT.

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